

THE

ACCOUNT SETTLED!

John OR Johnson

A BALANCE STRUCK

BETWEEN

THE IRISH PROPOSITIONS

AGREED TO

In the HOUSE of COMMONS of IRELAND on the
12th of *February*, 1785,

A N D

THE ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS

ENTERED INTO

By the HOUSE of COMMONS of ENGLAND on the
30th of *May*, 1785.

LOOK HERE UPON THIS PICTURE—

AND ON THIS—

HAMLET.

D U B L I N:

PRINTED BY P. BYRNE, No. 108, GRAFTON-STREET,
(NEAR THE COLLEGE.)

M,DCC,LXXXV.

[PRICE A BRITISH SHILLING.]

ACCOUNT SETTLED

A B L A N C E S T R U C K

48.

40.

4.

1567.

156!

SECRET



Printed by P. B. D. No. 100, Canton Street.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the present state of this country—a new and an important one—he must be considered a friend, who endeavours to pierce through the clouds which envelope the political questions of the day between the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. An artful haste has been adopted in this country to elude the eye of vigilance, and a, perhaps, not unculpable industry, equally applied to deceive ignorance, or misdirect inquiry.

THE Propositions, which were agreed to by the parliament of this kingdom, as proper to be made to the legislature of Great Britain, for a final adjustment of the commercial intercourse between both kingdoms, were posted with such celerity through the Irish House of Commons, and agreed to, with such an amicable pliability by the Lords, as to have been scarcely, if at all, at the time when they were agreed to by Parliament here, understood in this country.

iv INTRODUCTION.

WHILE they were thus accelerated only two petitions were presented against them *. These petitions approved part of the propositions as they were in their original state ; but partly declared against them as impolitic, and prayed that they might not be adopted *in toto*. It may be said, therefore, that as these petitions only appeared against the propositions, the sense of the nation was evinced to be in favour of the measure. But besides the celerity which has been already complained of, another reason can be suggested. The people of this country had been, by some modern doctrines of law, prevented from petitioning. Fearful of meeting in large bodies, however constituted, they were for a while intimidated from exercising what is now on all hands allowed to be their natural right. They remained in a state of political stupor, from which it is to be feared they are not yet perfectly awakened ; and from which, if the present conduct of England cannot arouse, nothing can excite them.

THE Commons of England have been as slow as we appear to have been precipitate. Indeed

* The Petition of the Chamber of Commerce in Dublin, and another from the Manufacturers of Wool, Worsted, Silk, Cotton, and mixed goods, of the city of Dublin ; for which see Appendix,

our conduct has, there, been every way inverted. No information whatsoever was here given to the public of what was to be discussed. No previous inquiry from manufacturers, no committees to adjust what ought to be demanded, or what might be granted. On the contrary, the consideration of the people of England has been drawn to these propositions by every possible means. Public documents and private disquisition have been poured from the press. The Committee of Trade made a report upon the subject, which was immediately given to the public. A report from the Commissioners of Customs has also been printed.— Another of the Committee of the whole House upon this subject has been published. Members of both Houses of Parliament there have from the press declared their opinions upon it; and the table of the English House of Commons has been almost covered with petitions against the propositions which we made. From hence it appears that our haste was not thought an object of imitation in that country. And the mature wisdom of the whole people of England has thought it proper to enlarge the number of our propositions from eleven to twenty. I talk not of the manner in which they were first proposed in the Irish House of Commons, but that form in which they were agreed to.

to. Whether this modification was intended to narrow their original intention, or not, will best appear from a comparison of those propositions originally agreed to here, with these resolutions which are now to be returned from England to this country, to be assented to by our parliament. Upon a mercantile question it may not be unfair to state them by way of debtor and creditor, and inquire thereby in whose favour the balance appears to be. If the amendments be such as make no material variance, the people of England by adopting a mere *verbiage* have deprived us of that character, which their liberality was formerly fond to bestow upon us——namely that of being a nation of BLUNDERERS.——

——BUT how will our character really deserve to be appreciated, if, upon the present occasion, when RECIPROCITY is held out as the distinguishing feature of these propositions, it be found that every advantage is in favour of Great Britain, and that we let go substantial good to acquire an unreal and at best a supposititious advantage?

IN making the deductions which follow the resolutions, the pamphlets which have appeared in Great Britain could have alone been adverted

to——

to— for to the shame of this country, it must be declared that the present is the solitary publication which has appeared either to recommend, or deprecate the present measure.

As the alterations and omissions made in the resolutions in the English parliament are so very many, it may be necessary to acquaint the reader, that the words or paragraphs which are printed in Italics in the Irish propositions have been omitted in the English resolutions, and the words or paragraphs between inverted commas have been varied; that the words, paragraphs, or resolutions printed in Italics and between inverted commas in the English resolutions, are either entire resolutions or amendments, which originated in England, and that the words or paragraphs between inverted commas are variations made from the original Irish propositions.

It has been thought unnecessary to add the resolutions as proposed by Mr. Pitt in the committee. It can be of little importance to this country to see that the prime Minister in England was incapable to carry through that parliament the measures which had been previously agreed to in council; or the amendments which had been afterwards

wards adopted to get rid of the prepossessions which have been entertained against the commerce of this country being advanced. However it may certainly be a matter of some concern to the people of England, to perceive that in his conduct as *a Man and a Minister*, he conducts himself exactly in the same way to the people of this country with regard to their commerce, that he has done with that country on the question of a Parliamentary Reform.

THE

THE
ACCOUNT SETTLED!
OR
A BALANCE STRUCK
BETWEEN
THE IRISH PROPOSITIONS
AND
THE ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

IRISH PROPOSITIONS

AGREED ON IN THE

House of Commons of IRELAND,

SATURDAY, *February 12, 1785,*

FIRST PROPOSITION.

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is highly important to the general interest of the British Empire, *that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as possible; and for that purpose that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles for the mutual benefit of both countries.*

SECOND

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS

AGREED TO

On MONDAY, *May* 30, 1785,

BY THE

House of Commons of ENGLAND.

FIRST RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is highly important to the general interests of the British Empire, that the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

SECOND RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

*“ THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that
“ it is consistent with the essential interests of the ma-
“ nufactures, revenues, commerce, and navigation of*

IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

SECOND PROPOSITION.

RESOLVED,

THAT towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they *are* liable, when imported directly from *the place of their growth, product or manufacture*; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

THIRD

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

“ *Great Britain, that a FULL participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, whenever a provision, equally permanent and secure, should be made by the Parliament of that kingdom, towards defraying, in proportion to its growing prosperity, the necessary expences in time of peace of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.*”

THIRD RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, “ *except those of the growth, produce or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Streights of Magellan,*” should be imported from the other reciprocally under the same regulations, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they “ *would be*” liable when imported directly from the “ *country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, as the case may be ;*” and that all duties originally
paid

IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

paid on importation into either country respectively, “ *except on Arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies,*” shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other. “ *But nevertheless that the duties shall continue to be protected and guarded, as, at present, by withholding the drawback, until a certificate from the proper officers of the revenue, in the kingdom to which the export may be made, shall be returned and compared with the entry outwards.*”

FOURTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

“ *THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is highly important to the general interests of the British Empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland; and therefore that it is essential, towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that all laws which have been made, or shall be made in Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Colonies and Plantations,*

and

IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

“ and for regulating and restraining the trade of the
 “ British Colonies and Plantations, such laws imposing
 “ the same restraints, and conferring the same be-
 “ nefits on the subjects of both kingdoms should be in
 “ force in Ireland, by laws to be passed in the Parlia-
 “ ment of that kingdom for the same time, and in the
 “ same manner as in Great Britain, and that proper
 “ measures should from time to time be taken for ef-
 “ fectually carrying the same into execution.”

FIFTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

“ THAT it is the Opinion of this Committee, that
 “ it is further essential to this settlement, that all goods
 “ and commodities of the growth, produce, or manu-
 “ facture of British or foreign Colonies in America,
 “ or the West Indies, and the British or foreign Set-
 “ tlements on the coast of Africa, imported into Ire-
 “ land, should on importation be subject to the same
 “ duties and regulations, as the like goods, are, or
 “ from time to time shall be subject to upon importa-
 “ tion into Great Britain, or if prohibited to be im-
 “ ported into Great Britain, shall be prohibited in
 “ like manner from being imported into Ireland.”

IRISH PREPOSITIONS.

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

SIXTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

“ *THAT* it is the opinion of this Committee, that
 “ in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the
 “ revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is
 “ expedient that all goods, whether of the growth,
 “ produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ire-
 “ land, or of any foreign country, which shall here-
 “ after be imported into Great Britain, or into Ireland
 “ from Great Britain, should be put by laws to be
 “ passed in the Parliaments of the two kingdoms,
 “ under the same regulations, with respect to bonds,
 “ cockets and other instruments, to which the like
 “ goods are now subject in passing from one port of
 “ Great Britain to another.”

SEVENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

“ *THAT* it is the opinion of this Committee, that
 “ for the like purpose, it is also expedient that when
 “ any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture
 “ of the British West India Islands, or any other of
 “ the British Colonies or Plantations, shall be shipped
 “ from Ireland for Great Britain, they should be ac-
 C 2 “ accompanied

IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

“ *compained with such original certificates of the re-*
 “ *venue officers of the said colonies as shall be required*
 “ *by the law on importation into Great Britain, and*
 “ *that when the whole quantity included in one certi-*
 “ *ficate shall not be shipped at any one time, the ori-*
 “ *ginal certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity,*
 “ *should be sent with the first parcel; and to identify*
 “ *the remainder, if shipped at any future period, new*
 “ *certificates should be granted by the principal officers*
 “ *of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of*
 “ *the original documents, specifying the quantities be-*
 “ *fore shipped from thence, by what vessels and to what*
 “ *ports.*”

EIGHTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

“ *THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that*
 “ *it is essential for carrying into effect the present set-*
 “ *tlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the*
 “ *British Colonies in the West Indies, or in America,*
 “ *or to the British Settlements on the coast of Africa*
 “ *or to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to*
 “ *the Streights of Magellan, should from time to time,*
 “ *be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and*
 “ *put*

IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

“ put under the same regulations as may be necessary,
 “ in order that the same may not be exported with
 “ less incumbrance of duties or importations, than the
 “ like goods, shall be burdened with when exported
 “ from Great Britain.”

NINTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

“ THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that
 “ it is essential to the general commercial interests of
 “ the Empire that so long as the Parliament of this
 “ kingdom shall think it adviseable that the commerce
 “ to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to
 “ the Streights of Magellan shall be carried on solely by
 “ an exclusive company, having liberty to import into
 “ the port of London only, no goods of the growth,
 “ produce, or manufacture of the said countries should
 “ be allowed to be imported into Ireland but through
 “ Great Britain, except dye-stuffs, cotton, or other
 “ wool and spiceries, which may be imported into Ire-
 “ land from foreign European countries into Great
 “ Britain, and that it shall be lawful to export such
 “ goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of
 “ any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope,
 “ to

IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

The first of these propositions is, that the Irish are a distinct nation, and not a branch of the British nation. This proposition is supported by the following arguments:—

1. The Irish have a distinct language, and not a dialect of the English.

2. The Irish have a distinct religion, and not a branch of the British religion.

3. The Irish have a distinct constitution, and not a branch of the British constitution.

4. The Irish have a distinct history, and not a branch of the British history.

5. The Irish have a distinct literature, and not a branch of the British literature.

6. The Irish have a distinct customs, and not a branch of the British customs.

7. The Irish have a distinct manners, and not a branch of the British manners.

8. The Irish have a distinct laws, and not a branch of the British laws.

9. The Irish have a distinct government, and not a branch of the British government.

10. The Irish have a distinct constitution, and not a branch of the British constitution.

11. The Irish have a distinct history, and not a branch of the British history.

12. The Irish have a distinct literature, and not a branch of the British literature.

13. The Irish have a distinct customs, and not a branch of the British customs.

14. The Irish have a distinct manners, and not a branch of the British manners.

15. The Irish have a distinct laws, and not a branch of the British laws.

16. The Irish have a distinct government, and not a branch of the British government.

17. The Irish have a distinct constitution, and not a branch of the British constitution.

18. The Irish have a distinct history, and not a branch of the British history.

19. The Irish have a distinct literature, and not a branch of the British literature.

20. The Irish have a distinct customs, and not a branch of the British customs.

21. The Irish have a distinct manners, and not a branch of the British manners.

22. The Irish have a distinct laws, and not a branch of the British laws.

23. The Irish have a distinct government, and not a branch of the British government.

24. The Irish have a distinct constitution, and not a branch of the British constitution.

25. The Irish have a distinct history, and not a branch of the British history.

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

“ to the Streights of Magellan, from Great Britain to
 “ Ireland with the same duties retained thereon as are
 “ now retained on their being exported to that king-
 “ dom, but that an account shall be kept of the duties
 “ retained and not drawn back on the said goods ex-
 “ ported to Ireland, and that the amount thereof shall
 “ be remitted by the Receiver General of his Majesty’s
 “ Customs in Great Britain, to the proper officer of
 “ the revenue in Ireland, to be placed to the account
 “ of his Majesty’s revenue there, subject to the dispo-
 “ sal of the parliament of that kingdom; and that the
 “ ships going from Great Britain to any of the said
 “ countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the
 “ Streights of Magellan, should not be restrained from
 “ touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking
 “ on board there any of the goods of the growth, pro-
 “ duce, or manufacture of that kingdom; and that
 “ no ships be allowed to clear out from Ireland for
 “ any of the said countries, but such ships as shall be
 “ freighted by the said company, and which shall
 “ have sailed from the port of London; and that when-
 “ ever the commerce to the said country shall cease to
 “ be so carried on solely by such an exclusive company,
 “ the goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of
 “ the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope,

D

“ to

IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

THIRD PROPOSITION.

RESOLVED,

THAT for the same purpose it is proper that no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use or sale of any article, the growth, product or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.

FOURTH

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

“ to the Streights of Magellan, should be importable
 “ into Ireland from the same countries from which
 “ they may be importable into Great Britain, and no
 “ other.”

TENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that
 no prohibition should exist in either country against
 the importation, use, or sale of any article the
 growth, product, or manufacture of the other,
 “ except such as either kingdom may judge expedient
 “ from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour and
 “ biscuit, and except such qualified prohibitions, at
 “ present contained in any act of the British or Irish
 “ parliaments, as do not absolutely prevent the impor-
 “ tation of goods or manufactures, but only regulate
 “ the weight, the size, the packages, or other particu-
 “ lar circumstances, or prescribe the built or country,
 “ and dimensions of the ships importing the same; and
 “ also, except on ammunition, arms, gun-powder, and
 “ other utensils of war, importable only by virtue of
 “ his Majesty's licence;” and that the duty on the
 importation of every such article, if subject to duty

IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

FOURTH PROPOSITION.

RESOLVED,

THAT in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, product or manufacture of either country are different on the importation into the other, it would be expedient that they should be reduced in the kingdom where they are the highest to the amount payable in the other, and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they are imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home-manufacture of the same kingdom.

FIFTH

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

in either country, should be precisely the same in the one country, as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its non-consumption, “ *or an internal bounty in the country where such article is grown, produced or manufactured, and except such duties as either kingdom may judge expedient from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour and biscuits.*”

ELEVENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country are different on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they should be reduced in the kingdom, where they are the highest to “ *an amount not exceeding*” the amount payable in the other, “ *so that the same shall not be less than ten and an half per centum where any article was charged with a duty on importation into Ireland, of ten and half per centum or upwards, on the 17th day of May, 1782,*” and that all such articles should be exportable

IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

FIFTH PROPOSITION.

RESOLVED,

THAT, *for the same purpose*, it is also proper that in all cases “ where either kingdom shall charge articles of its own consumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the “ same” manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation *to the same amount as the internal duty, on the manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material, and shall be intitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture, such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed, or until the manufacture coming from the other kingdom shall be subjected there to an equal burden, not drawn back or compensated on exportation.*”

SIXTH

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

exportable from that kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home-manufacture of the same kingdom.

TWELFTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is also proper that in all cases " where the articles of the consumption of either kingdoms shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the same manufacture when imported from the other may be charged with a farther duty on importation, adequate to countervail the " internal" duty on the manufacture, except in the case of beer imported into Ireland, as far as relates to the duties now charged thereon ;" such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed ; and that " where there is duty on the raw material of " any manufacture in either kingdom, less than " the duty on the like raw material in the other, " or equal to such duty, " such manufacture may, " on

IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

SIXTH PROPOSITION.

RESOLVED,

THAT in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no *prohibition*, or new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

SEVENTH

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

“ on its importation “ *into the other kingdom*”
 “ be charged with such a countervailing duty as
 “ may be sufficient to subject the same so im-
 “ ported, to burdens adequate to those which
 “ the manufacture composed of the like raw
 “ material is subject to in consequence of duties
 “ on such material in the kingdom into which
 “ such manufacture is so imported; and that the
 “ said manufacture so imported shall be intitled
 “ to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation,
 “ as may leave the same subject to no heavier
 “ burden than the home made manufacture.”

THIRTEENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee,
 that in order to give permanency to the settlement
 now intended to be established, it is necessary that
 no new or additional duties should be hereafter
 imposed in either kingdom, on the importation
 of any article of the growth, product, or manu-
 facture of the other, except such additional duties
 as may be requisite to balance duties on internal
 consumption pursuant to the foregoing resolution;

E

“ of

IRISH PROPOSITIONS,

SEVENTH PROPOSITION.

RESOLVED,

THAT for the same purpose it is necessary farther that no prohibitions, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the exportation of any article of native growth, product or manufacture from "thence" to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour and biscuits, *and also except where there now exists any prohibition which is not reciprocal, or any duty which is not equal in both kingdoms may be made reciprocal, or the duties raised so as to make them equal.*

EIGHTH PROPOSITION.

RESOLVED,

THAT for the same purpose it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable in either kingdom on the exportation of any article

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

*"or in consequence of the bounties remaining on
"such articles when exported from the other king-
"dom."*

FOURTEENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that for the same purpose, it is necessary, farther that no "new prohibition" or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture from "the "one kingdom" to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient from time to time upon corn, meal, malt, or flour and biscuit.

FIFTEENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that for the same purpose, it is necessary that no boun-

IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour and biscuits, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid; and that no bounty should be "granted" *in this kingdom* on the exportation of any article imported from the British Plantations, or any manufactures made of such articles, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of, or for duties paid over and above any duties paid thereon in Great Britain.

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

ties whatsoever should be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other except as relative to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, “ *and except also the bounties at present given by Great Britain on beer and spirits distilled from corn,*” and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid, and that no bounty should be “ payable ” “ *in Ireland on the exportation of any article to any British Colonies, or Plantations, or to the British Settlements on the coast of Africa,*” or on the exportation of any articles imported from the British Plantations, “ *or from the British Settlements on the coast of Africa, or British Settlements in the East Indies :*” or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compensation of or for duties paid over and above any duties paid thereon in Great Britain, “ *and that where any internal bounty shall be given in either kingdom, on any goods manufactured therein, and shall remain on such goods when exported, a countervailing duty* ”
“ *adequate*

IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

NINTH PROPOSITION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is expedient, for the general benefit of the British Empire, that the importation of articles from foreign "states" should be regulated from time to time in each kingdom, on such terms as may "afford an effectual preference to" the importation of similar articles of the growth, product and manufacture of the other.

TENTH

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

*“ adequate thereto, may be laid upon the importation
“ of the said goods into the other kingdom.”*

SIXTEENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee,
that it is expedient, for the general benefit of
the British Empire, that the importation of arti-
cles from foreign “ countries,” should be regu-
lated from time to time in each kingdom, on such
forms as may effectually favour “ the importation
“ of similar articles of the growth, produce, or
“ manufacture of the other ;” “ except in the case
“ of materials of manufacture, which are, or here-
“ after may be allowed to be imported from foreign
“ countries duty free, and that in all cases, where
“ any articles are, or may be subject to higher du-
“ ties on importation into this kingdom, from the
“ countries belonging to any of the States of North
“ America, then the like goods are, or may be sub-
“ ject to when imported as the growth, produce, or
“ manufacture of the British Colonies and Plantations,
“ or as the produce of the fisheries carried on by
“ British subjects, such articles shall be subject to
“ the

IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

TENTH PROPOSITION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is essential to the commercial interests of this country to prevent, as much as possible, an accumulation of national debt ; and that therefore it is highly expedient that the annual revenue of this kingdom should be made equal to its annual expences.

ELEVENTH

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

“ the same duties on importation into Ireland from
 “ the countries belonging to any of the States of North
 “ America, as the same are or may be subject to on
 “ importation from the said countries into this king-
 “ dom.”

SEVENTEENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

“ THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that
 “ it is expedient that such privileges of printing and
 “ vending books as are or may be legally possessed
 “ within Great Britain under the grant of the crown,
 “ or otherwise, and the copy rights of the authors and
 “ booksellers of Great Britain, should continue to be
 “ protected in the manner they are at present, by the
 “ laws of Great Britain; and that it is just that
 F “ measures

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

“ measures should be taken by the Parliament of Ireland for giving the like protection to similar rights and privileges in that kingdom.

EIGHTEENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

“ THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is expedient that regulations should be adopted with respect to patents to be hereafter granted for the encouragement of new inventions, so that the rights, privileges and restrictions, therein contained, shall be of equal force and duration throughout Great Britain and Ireland.”

NINETEENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

“ THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is expedient that measures should be taken to prevent disputes touching the exercise of the right of the inhabitants of each kingdom to fish on the coasts of any part of the British dominions.

IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

ELEVENTH PROPOSITION.

RESOLVED,

THAT, for the better encouragement of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of “ this kingdom, after deducting all drawbacks, “ repayments, or bounties granted in the nature “ of drawbacks, shall produce,” over and above the sum of £.656,000 in each year of peace, wherein the annual revenue shall be equal to the annual expence, and in each year of war without regard to such equality, “ should be appropriated” towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the parliament of “ this kingdom” shall direct.

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS.

TWENTIETH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that " the appropriation of whatever sum the " gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of " Ireland" "*the due collection thereof being secured* " *by permanent provisions,*" shall produce after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of £.656,000 in each year towards the support of the naval force of the Empire, " to be applied" in such manner as the " Parliament of Ireland shall direct," " *by an act* " *to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory* " *provision proportioned to the growing prosperity of* " *that kingdom, towards defraying in time of peace,* " *the necessary expences of protecting the trade and* " *general interests of the Empire.*"

ENGLISH RESOLUTIONS

Resolved, That the Committee on the subject of the

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OBSERVATIONS.

IT does not require much ability to comment upon the antecedent Propositions and the Resolutions which are opposite to them. The mere industry of comparison is all that can be requisite. A few slight observations shall be made by way of guide to the attention of others, and will be all that shall be attempted by the editor of this trifle. New to commercial matters, the subject had its difficulties to the people of this country, in the state in which it was proposed by the legislature of Ireland : but it has been so amended, that he who runs may read ; for in its present altered situation the resolutions tend to produce a system of insidious monopoly, disguised under a fallacious appearance of favour, and are, in multiplied instances, contrary to the principles of the laws of both countries.

It

It is impossible to follow this subject in a regular chain of connection : it shall alone be my object to pursue it in that desultory manner in which they seem to have been taken up by the English legislature, unsystematic, unarranged and irregular ; not as things which were happily to unite in one whole, but like the ancient picture of Chaos, *discordia semina rerum*.

First Proposition and Resolution.

The manifest intention of the propositions, as framed here, was that we should be enabled to extend the commerce of this country ; and this appears evident from the very texture and wording of the propositions in their original form. Upon the face of the first of it is declared to “ be highly important to the general interest of the British Empire, THAT THE TRADE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND BE ENCOURAGED AND EXTENDED AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE.” But as the encouragement or extension of the trade of Ireland was not intended to be made any part of the treaty between the two nations, we do not find these words, even in the resolutions proposed by Mr. Pitt. An omission of so important a paragraph could not have been done without meaning, and if there were any intention
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in it, that restriction must be alarming. The people of Ireland meant to purchase an extension of their trade. But this resolution is so far from holding out any such thing, that while the purview and intent of the whole resolutions convey nothing but restraint, their very preamble disdains holding out even a shew of advantage.

The *second English Resolution*, originated in England, and seems however to differ from the assertion before made, and it also differs from all the subsequent paragraphs; it resolves that a
 “ *full participation of commercial advantages should*
 “ *be permanently secured to Ireland, whenever a pro-*
 “ *vision equally permanent and secure shall be made*
 “ *towards defraying in time of peace the necessary*
 “ *expences of protecting the trade and general interests*
 “ *of the Empire.*” But by the twentieth English resolution, a certain sum is declared to be a satisfactory provision for that purpose; and therefore if that resolution be acceded to by the Irish Parliament, then a *full participation of commercial advantages* has been purchased by us, and all the subsequent arrangements and restraints which controvert this full participation is a contradiction to the principle laid down by Great Britain herself.

Second Irish Proposition—Third English Resolution.

In the course of debating these propositions in Ireland, Mr. Corry, member for Newry, called upon Mr. Secretary Orde to declare what his principle was, and what he intended with regard to the trade with the East Indies, to which the Secretary answered, that he had a scheme also for that, which he did not doubt would be satisfactory to every body: But can the scheme which the English legislature have contrived, be such as to give that satisfaction. Even by the navigation act it is declared, “to be lawful to import all
 “ goods of the production or manufacture of the
 “ plantations of either Spain or Portugal, from
 “ any of the ports of these countries, and from the
 “ Azores, Madeira, and the Canary Islands,” so that under this law, we might whenever the monopoly of the East India Company should become intolerable, have a resource to save us from the oppression of these monopolists. But the present system as proposed in England deprives us of that resource; for it excepts in so many words all articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan.

The *fourth English Resolution* originated in the British Parliament, and would perhaps demand
 a spe-

Here then is an obligation upon the present parliament of Ireland to bind their successors in parliament to make such laws as shall be enacted in Great Britain. Can the Irish parliament enter into such a treaty? Can they make such a compact? Certainly not. "For the legislature," as it is well observed by Blackstone*, "is always of equal, always of absolute authority: it acknowledges no superior upon earth, which the prior legislature must have been, if its ordinances could bind the present parliament:" This is another of the absurdities with which the *fourth English Resolution* is implicated.

The *fifth Resolution* also originated in England, and is a continuance of the system of imposing worse restraints on the trade of Ireland than what it heretofore laboured under, and is a part of the commercial advantages we acquire, as it tends to abridge or prohibit all chance of American, African or West India trade.

By the *sixth English Resolution* a new code of revenue laws is to be adopted in Ireland. By the *seventh*, a new scheme of exporting all foreign goods from this country to Great Britain. And by the *eighth*, all goods to be exported from Ireland to the British Colonies in the West Indies, Ame-

* Com. Vol. 1. P. 90.

a specific treatise upon itself. Every thing that has been said to enforce a repeal of the 1st of George I. every thing that might be said to enforce a renunciation of the right claimed by that act, may with propriety be applied upon the present occasion. Every thing that constitutes the independence of the Irish nation is to be sacrificed by this proposition; and it stands affected with greater marks of reprobation than that very act of parliament, which aimed at annihilating the very functions and existence of the Irish legislature. For never having assented to the authority of that law, we had always a right to deny that authority—but by the compact made in the present treaty we are induced insidiously to bind ourselves to submit to a paramount legislature in all questions of commerce. Nor is this the only unconstitutional doctrine with which this proposition is replete, for, contrary to the known and established rules of the constitution, it lays the foundation of an act, which is to be derogatory from the power of all future parliaments, and which from that very reason cannot be binding at all. For it lays down as a datum, that all laws which are made or *shall be made* in Great Britain, should be in force in Ireland by laws to be passed by the parliament of Ireland for that purpose.

rica or Africa, to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, are to be subject to such regulations as may impose like incumbrances as the like goods exported from Britain are subject to. This last Proposition has an appearance of fairness: but let us consider the ability of this country to encounter like burthens. In the progress of many years England preserved to herself a monopoly of commerce; she grew wealthy, yet she got into debt. She prevented us from a participation of trade, while she was not in this situation; and we do not come in to participate fairly in the trade, unless we shall have a long enjoyment of it unincumbered by these burdens, which long success alone could enable any nation to bear, and a habit of industry, the consequence thereof, incited by an open market for their commodities and manufactures. Of all which this country has been at all times deprived by the narrow policy of Great Britain, and which is not now to be rendered more open by these Propositions. In aid to this opinion comes the respectable authority of Dean Tucker †, who well observes upon the impossibility of a poor country, however otherwise advantageously cir-

† REFLECTIONS—See Title of his late Pamphlet.

cumstanced,

cumstanced, to rival a rich one. Poverty alone is a sufficient remora; and that poverty has been the only gift of Britain, and for a continuation of it we are to pay and be thankful.

The *eighth Resolution* is also of English fabrication, and is of the same purport with the antecedent. But the *ninth Resolution*, with a liberality which is highly honourable to the framers of it, not content with preserving the East India monopoly to the present Company, it goes to the preclusion of all trade with any other countries except those with which Britain shall choose to trade; and it deprives us by anticipation, should the South American Colonies ever get rid of their subjugation to Spain, from trading with them.

The *tenth Resolution* is varied from the original *third Proposition* made by the Irish parliament, and from the modification of it brought in by Mr. Pitt. After excepting corn, meal, malt, flour and biscuit, it goes on excepting qualified prohibitions, not absolutely preventing the importation of goods, &c.; and by that means continues an actual prohibition of many articles which are importable in small quantities at present. It also contains a further continuance of the navigation laws.

By

By the *eleventh Resolution* (the *fourth Irish Proposition*) an example has been set by the English parliament, well worthy of Irish imitation. By the minutes * of the witnesses examined before the committee of the House of Commons of Great Britain, it appears, in almost every instance, that ten one-half per cent. will be an effectual protecting duty for the English manufacture against the Irish; and this duty has been the one proposed by Great Britain for the acceptance of Ireland. Now, ought not Ireland, actuated by a similar spirit, examine what may be an effectual protecting duty for her manufactures, and make that the *fini qua non* of the treaty, unless that duty which has been adopted by England be given up?

By the *twelfth English Resolution* (the *fifth Irish*) the duties on beer imported into Ireland are to be preserved, without any countervailing duties thereon, which must entirely destroy the Irish brewery.

The variations between the *thirteenth* and *fourteenth English Resolutions* are not very material, but they are still intended as clogs upon the *fifth* and *sixth Irish Propositions*.

By the *fifteenth English Resolution* advantages are stipulated for British spirits distilled from corn,

* See that Publication *passim*.

while

while no such reciprocal advantages are preserved for Irish spirits, though an article, which may hereafter by opening that market, become a considerable object of traffic.

By the *ninth Irish Resolution* it was intended that *an effectual preference* may be given to the importation of similar articles of each country from the other, and by that means make Britain and Ireland reciprocally the *most favoured nation*. In the *sixteenth Resolution* of the English legislature these words are changed for *effectually favour*, which is a considerable falling off from the original design, and shews that the intention of Britain is not to bind herself to any act of peculiar preference or encouragement to this country.

The *seventeenth* is of such a nature as will entirely destroy the trade of bookselling and printing in this country, and will not be of any advantage to Britain. The home market of Ireland can alone be supplied by the publication of cheap books; the importation of which into England is at present sufficiently guarded against: so that the only damage Britain can fear from Ireland is their exportation of books to America. But the prevention of the Irish from printing original works in a cheap manner

manner can only have the effect of throwing the trade into the hands of the Dutch, who already enjoy the advantages of publishing almost all French books which are prohibited.

By the *eighteenth Resolution* we are to be precluded of the advantage of all future inventions for the facilitating manufactures.

The *nineteenth Resolution* cannot be accounted fair, while the Scotch, after having destroyed their own fisheries, now come to destroy ours.

Our *tenth Resolution* which was intended as a guard against accumulating debt, and a preface to the sum which we stipulated to give to Great Britain if our Propositions were agreed to, has been passed by in the British parliament with a silence which indicates no peculiar partiality to economy in this country, nor has the minister ever taken notice of it. We may from thence infer how far it has been an object of the regard of the British parliament or minister.

By the *twentieth English Resolution* (our *eleventh Irish Proposition*) we are bound to give whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue shall produce above £.56,000, toward the support of the naval

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force

force of Great Britain, at all times, and we are to be bound to make permanent provisions for the collection of the revenue. Clogged as our trade will be, it appears evident that we must go on accumulating debt to pay the mere ordinary expenses of the government, for the trade of this country will be hereby so burdened as to make it impossible for us to extend it. So that independence, which ought, as Dean Tucker contends, to be a blessing to us and to the sister kingdom, as it would tend to amend the defects of the trade of Britain, will become our curse. Nothing has appeared from the English press which militates against the enlargement of the trade of Ireland, which requires an answer. The author of this intended taking a slight review of them all, but besides that he sees nothing to answer, he feels that the moment of agitating this question is at hand, and if he were to delay in order to examine idle theories, systematic ruin may be introduced.

MEN OF IRELAND! after having by fortitude acquired constitution, are you willing to sacrifice it for commerce—but it is not even to commerce that you sacrifice it—by these regulations it is reduced to a shadow. Will you after having gloriously contended for independence, yield it up at the shrine

shrine of British monopoly?—If you are ready for the sacrifice, prepare yourselves for a communication of taxes, and a national debt verging towards bankruptcy.—These are a part of the benefits which you will receive by an UNION with Great Britain, and these propositions if agreed to in their present altered state, must end in that desirable conclusion. Is this to be the EUTHANASIA of the new-born Irish Constitution?—For one, the writer of this paragraph would sooner die in the last ditch of his country, than consent to be thus deluded by negotiation out of what the nation refused to yield to force.

P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE this Pamphlet went to Press, the Chamber of Commerce have called a Meeting to oppose the Alterations made in the Irish Propositions by the English Legislature, and it is to be hoped that their Example will meet general Imitation.

A P P E N D I X.

Amo Johnson

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE and HONOURABLE

THE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS AND BURGESSES,
in PARLIAMENT assembled,

The PETITION of the MERCHANTS who have
been nominated a COUNCIL by a numerous
BODY of TRADERS, associated under the Title
of *The Chamber of Commerce of the City of Dub-
lin.*

Humbly sheweth,

THAT the disposition displayed by this honourable house, for proceeding to a completion of a system of commercial intercourse between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, founded on the basis of mutual advantage and unequivocal reciprocity, has impressed your petitioners with the most lively sentiments of gratitude.

That your petitioners are peculiarly anxious for the establishment of such a wise and permanent system, sensible that in the relative situation those countries stand, it will prove the most durable bond of connection they can have—a connection indispensably necessary to the interest and importance of the whole empire.

That

That certain propositions having been submitted to this honourable house for a final adjustment of trade between the two countries, your petitioners flatter themselves that on an occasion so momentous, so deeply involving their interests, as well as the commercial interests of this nation at large, they will not be thought too presuming if they take leave humbly to submit a few observations, which are the result of the best consideration of the subject that the shortness of time would permit.

That your petitioners are of opinion that the propositions submitted to this honourable house, relative to the mutual interchange between the two kingdoms of articles not the growth, produce, or manufacture of either, is fully consonant to the principle of reciprocity ; and, with respect to such articles, forms an equal and fair system between Great Britain and Ireland—a measure of justice long due to the latter.

That your petitioners, with all humility, represent to this honourable house, that the proposition for establishing between the two kingdoms the same duties on the admission into each of articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, will not in some instances really accomplish that reciprocity on which the propositions are professed to be founded ; inasmuch as the maturity of the one country causing her manufacture to be of a fine fabric, while the infancy of the other will only allow her manufacture to be of a coarse fabric, the same duty per yard or piece being laid on the coarse as on the fine, may be admission to one but exclusion to the other.

That your petitioners take the liberty further to observe, that where there now exists any prohibition in either kingdom on the exportation to the other of articles of its growth, produce, or manufacture,

facture, the encountering such prohibition with prohibition is not calculated to encourage and extend, as much as possible, the trade between Great Britain and Ireland, or reconcileable to that spirit of affection and mutual liberality of intercourse which should prevail between countries so closely, and your petitioners hope, inseparably connected.

That your petitioners humbly represent, that if a measure so unfriendly as that of a prohibition should be persisted in on the part of Great Britain, it will surely be impolitic in Ireland to preclude herself for ever from adopting a similar conduct in respect to the exportation of the material of her staple manufacture.

That your petitioners humbly conceive that an effectual preference to articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of each country, over similar articles of foreign growth, product or manufacture, on their importation into the other country, should be secured by a mutual engagement, that any present existing preference shall in no sort be ever hereafter lessened.

Your petitioners humbly intreat this honourable house to take these matters into consideration, and adopt such measures as to their wisdom shall seem meet ; and your petitioners will, as in duty bound, humbly pray.

Signed at the desire and on behalf of the said merchants,

DANIEL MARSTON,
D. T. O'BRIEN.

To

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE and HONOURABLE
THE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS AND BURGESSES,
in PARLIAMENT assembled,

The PETITION of the MANUFACTURERS of
Wool, Worsted, Silk, Cotton and mixed Goods,
of the City of DUBLIN, and the LIBERTIES
thereof.

Most humbly sheweth,

THAT your petitioners perceive that resolutions have been proposed to the house, for a final adjustment of trade between Great Britain and Ireland.

That by these resolutions British goods are to be admitted at the present duties into Ireland.

That your petitioners have not the smallest hope of the Irish manufacturers being able to procure a sale for their fabrics in the markets of Great Britain under the proposed regulation; but British goods will still continue to command a preference in our own markets, and prevent us, as hitherto, from manufacturing either for domestic trade, foreign export, or the British market.

May it therefore please your honourable house to take these matters into consideration, and either allow to your petitioners time to prepare a representation of their opinion of the effects by them likely to be induced on this country, or that your honourable house will admit council to be heard at the bar of your honourable house, on your petitioners behalf, touching the proposed resolutions.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will pray.



